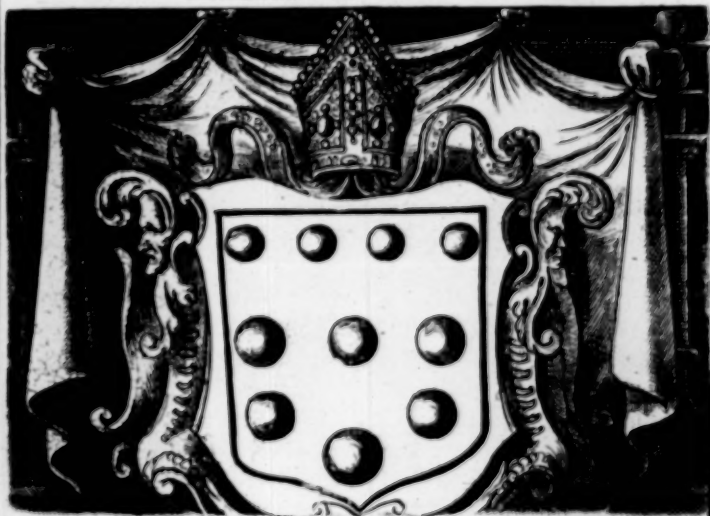


THE
Bishop of Worcester's
LETTER

To a Friend
For VINDICATION of Himself
FROM
Mr. BAXTER'S Calumny.

*Tenet insanabile multos
Scribendi Cacoethes*



London, Printed by R. Norton for Timothy Garthwait at the
Little North-door of St. Pauls Church, 1662.



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Mr. Baxter hath lately printed a Book called [*The Mischiefs of Self-Ignorance, and the Benefits of Self-Acquaintance*] in the Address of which Book to his dearly beloved the Inhabitants of *Kidderminster*, he hath this ensuing passage relating to the *Bishop of Worcester*.

IN a disputation by writing, these of the other part formed an Argument, whose Major Proposition was to this sense (for I have no Copy) [*Whatsoever Book enjoyneth nothing but what is of it self lawful, and by lawful authority, enjoyneth nothing that is sinful,*] we denied this Proposition, and at last gave divers Reasons of our denial; amongst which one was, that [*It may be unlawful by Accident, and therefore sinful*] You now know my Crime; it is my concurring with Learned Reverend Brethren, to give this reason of our denial of a Proposition: yet they are not forbidden to Preach for it, (and I hope shall not be) but only I. You have publicly heard from a mouth that should speak nothing but the words of Charity, Truth and Soberness, (especially there) that this was [a desperate shift that men at the last are forced to] and inferring [that then neither God nor man can enjoy without sin] In City and

Country this soundeth forth to my reproach; I should take it for an Act of Clemency to have been smitten professedly for nothing, and that it might not have been thought necessary to afflict me by a defamation, that so I might seem justly afflicted by a prohibition to Preach the Gospel. But indeed is there in these words of ours so great a Crime? though we doubted not but they knew that our Assertion made not Every Evil Accident to be such as made an Imposition unlawful, yet we expressed this by word to them at that time, for fear of being misreported: and I told it to the Right Reverend Bishop when he forbade me to Preach, and gave this as a reason: And I must confess I am still guilty of so much weakness, as to be confident that Some things, not Evil of themselves, may have Accidents so Evil, as may make it a sin to him that shall Command them. Is this opinion inconsistent with all Government? yea I must confess my self guilty of so much greater weakness, as that I thought I should never have found a man on Earth, that had the ordinary reason of a Man, that had made question of it; yea I shall say more then that which hath offended (viz.) That whensoever the commanding or forbidding of a thing indifferent is like to occasion more hurt than good, and this may be foreseen, the commanding or forbidding it is a sin. But yet this is not the Assertion that I am chargeable with, but that [Some Accidents there may be that may make the Imposition sinful] If I may ask it without accusing of others, how would my Crime have been denominated if I had said the contrary? Should I not have been judged unwelcome to live in any governed Society? It is not unlawful of it self to Command out a Navy to Sea: but if it were foreseen that they would fall into the Enemies hands, or were like to perish by any Accident, and the necessity of sending them were small, or none, it were a sin to send them. It is not unlawful of it self to sell poyson, or give a knife to another, or to bid another to do it; but if it were foreseen that they will be used to poyson or kill the buyer, it is unlawful; and I think the Law would make him believe it that were guilty. It is not of it self unlawful to light a candle, or set fire on a straw; but if it may be foreknown, that by anothers negligence or wilfulness it is like to set
fire

fire on the City, or give fire to a train or store of Gun-powder that is under the Parliament House, when the King and Parliament are there, I crave the Bishops pardon, for believing that it were sinful to do it, or command it; yea or not to hinder it (in any such case) when *Qui non vetat peccare cum potest, jubet*, yea though going to Gods publick worship be of it self so far from being a sin, that it is a Duty, yet I think it is a sin to command it to all in time of a raging Pestilence, or when they should be defending the City against the assault of an Enemy, it may rather then be a duty to pro it it. I think Paul spake not any thing inconsistent with the Government of God or Man, when he bid both the Rulers and the People of the Church, not to destroy him with their meat for whom Christ dyed; and when he saith, he hath not his power to destruction, but to edification; yea there are evil Accidents of a thing, not evil of it self, that are caused by the Commander: and it is my opinion that they may prove his command unlawful.

But what need I use any other Instances then that which was the matter of our dispute? Suppose it never so lawful of it self to kneel in the Reception of the Sacrament, if it be imposed by a penalty that is incomparably beyond the proportion of the offence, that penalty is an Accident of the Command, and maketh it by Accident sinful in the Commander. If a Prince should have Subjects so weak as that all of them thought it a sin against the example of Christ and the Canons of the General Councils, and many hundred years practice of the Church, to kneel in the Act of Receiving on the Lords Day, if he should make a Law that all should be put to death that would not kneel, when he foreknew that their Consciences would command them all, or most of them to dye rather then obey, would any man deny his command to be unlawful by this Accident? Whether the penalty of ejecting Ministers that dare not put away all that do not kneel, and of casting out all the people that scruple it, from the Church, be too great for such a circumstance (and so in the rest) and whether this, with the lamentable estate of many Congregations, and the divisions that will follow, being all foreseen, do prove the impositions unlawful which were then in Question, is a Case that I had then a clearer call to speak to, then I have now; only I may say

That the Ejecting of the Servants of Christ from the Communion of his Church, and of his faithful Ministers from their Sacred Work, when too many Congregations have none but insufficient, or scandalous Teachers, or no Preaching Ministers at all, will appear a matter of very great moment in the day of our accounts, and such as should not be done upon any but a necessary cause, where the benefit is greater then this hurt (and all the rest) amounts to.

Having given you (to whom I owe it) this account of the cause for which I am forbidden the exercise of my Ministry in that Countrey, I now direct these Sermons to your hands, that seeing I cannot teach you as I would, I may teach you as I can: And if I much longer enjoy such Liberty as this, it will be much above my expectation.

The



*The Bishop of Worcester's Letter to a Friend
for Vindication of himself from Mr. Baxter's
Calumny.*

SIR,

I Have received that Letter of yours, whereby you inform me that Mr. *Baxter* hath lately written and printed something with such a reflection upon me, that I am obliged to take notice of it.

I thank you for your care of my Reputation, which next to Conscience ought to be the dearest of all things to all men, especially to men of my Profession and Order, who the more they are vilified (whether justly or unjustly) the less good they will be able to do, especially amongst those that have industriously been prepossessed with prejudice either against their Persons or their Functions. This was St. *Pauls* Case, when there were some that did what they could to make the *Corinthians* to undervalue his person, that thereby they might discredit his Doctrine, and weaken his Authority, whom therefore he thinks he may
without

without breach of Charity call *False Apostles and Deceitful Workers*. Nay this was our Saviours own Case, who, whilst he lived here upon the Earth, was ever and anon traduced and slandered by the Scribes and Pharisees, those proud Hypocrites, who were the greatest pretenders to holiness, and yet the greatest seducers of the people, and the grossest falsifiers of Gods Word, that ever were in the world, until these our times, which have brought forth a generation of men (*St. Iohn baptist* would have called them a *Generation of Vipers*) who in the Art of holy jugling and malicious slandering have out-done the Pharisees themselves, and all that went before them; witness their so often wresting and perverting the Scripture in their Sermons to stir up the people to Sedition, and their as often Libelling the King in their Prayers, in order to the making of his Subjects first to hate him, then to fight against him, and at last to take away his Crown, and his Life from him: And is it any wonder that those that are such Enemies to Kings, should not be friends to Bishops? or that one (who hath done what he could to make the late King odious unto his People) should do what he can likewise to make the Pastor odious unto his Flock? to his Flock I say; For it is the *Bishop of Worcester*, and not Mr. Baxter that is Pastor of *Kidderminster*, as well as of all other Parochial Churches in that Diocess; neither did I or

any other *Bishop* of *Worcester*, ever commit the Care of Souls in that, or any other *Parish* of that *Dioceſs* to Mr *Baxter*, though by that *Preface* of his to thoſe of *Kiddermiſter*, he would make the world believe, that they were *his* Flock, and not *mine*, and that therefore he hath the more reason to complain of my defamation of him (as he calls it) in that place and before that people: whereas the truth is that Mr. *Baxter* was never either *Parſon*, *Vicar*, or *Curate* there or any where else in my *Dioceſs*; for he never came in by the *Door*, that is, by any legal right or lawful admiſſion into that *Sheepfold*, but climbed up ſome other way, namely, by violence and intruſion, and therefore by Chriſts own inference he was a *Thief* and a *Robber*; and indeed he did *Rob* him that was then, and is now again the lawful *Vicar* of that Church; he *Robbed* him I ſay, firſt of his *Reputation* amongſt his Flock, and then of his *means* and *maintenance*, by taking away the *Fleece* as well as the *Flock* from him; though (as Mr. *Baxter* himſelf hath confeſſed to me) *He be a man of an unblamable life and converſation, though not of ſuch parts (ſaid Mr. Baxter) as are fit to qualifie him for the Cure of ſo great a Congregation*; which whether it were ſo or no, I am ſure Mr. *Baxter* was not to be the Judge; but in that Caſe the *Biſhop* that was then living ſhould and would have provided him a *Coadjutor*, as I have done ſince, and ſuch an one, as I hope will feed

that flock with much more wholsome Doctrine than Mr. *Baxter* did, when he sowed the seed of Schism and Sedition, and blew the Trumpet of Rebellion amongst them. For which cause I thought it my Duty (as being their Pastor in Chief) not onely to forbid Mr. *Baxter* to Preach there any more, which, by the way, he had done without my License; but likewise to Preach there my self, and to do what I could to undeceive that poor seduced and miserably deluded people; which was not to be done, as long as they had the person of their *Seducer* in so great admiration; and therefore by the example of *St. Paul*, who in order to the same end did take the same course with *Alexander* the Copper-smith, with *Demas*, *Philetus*, and *Hymeneus*; as likewise by the example of Christ himself, who in order to the same end, did take the same course with the Scribes and Pharisees, I thought it necessary to let them know *that one that was of great authority amongst them* (meaning indeed, though not naming Mr. *Baxter*) *was not the man they took him for; that he had not dealt faithfully with them, nor preached the word of God sincerely to them, when he made them believe it was lawful for them to take up Arms against the King, nor in suffering (if not making) them to scruple at these things as unlawful, which he himself confesses to be lawfull; and afterwards making use of those scruples of theirs (which he himself had infused into them, or*

not endeavoured to take from them) as the only argument why those things they did so scruple at should not be enjoyn'd by lawful Authority, though lawful in themselves, *because, forsooth, the enjoyning of things lawful by lawful Authority, if they may by Accident be the occasion of sin, is sinful*; which assertion of his (as I then said, and must still maintain) is destructive of humane society in taking away the Authority of Commanding and the obligation of obeying, together with the whole Legislative power, Civil as well as Ecclesiastical, and Divine as well as Humane. And thus much (as Mr. Baxter himself saith) I told him before in mine own house, neither did he then deny the assertion, or endeavour to disprove what I interr'd from it, by any of those distinctions or instances he now useth. And that this is true the Reverend Dr. VVarmstry now Dean of Worcester will witness for me, whom I desired to be by whilest I conferr'd with Mr. Baxter, foreseeing what misreport a man of Mr. Baxters principles and temper was like enough to make of what should pass betwixt us. And it was very well I did so; for I find that the *Presbyter* aswell as the *Papist* will serve themselves, as often as they are put to it, of their *pia fraudes*, or holy artifices, of speaking more or less then the truth, as it makes more or less for their purpose or advantage; as likewise of putting *non causam pro causa*, or a part and a less principal part of the

cause for the whole cause. For who would not think that knows not Mr. *Baxter*, that when he tells his Disciples of *Kidderminster*, *You now know my Crime*, with reference to the aforesaid assertion, and to that only, who would not think, I say, that either there was nothing else objected against him, or at least nothing of moment, or that could be any just and reasonable cause of my forbidding him to Preach in my Diocess? especially when he adds that the *Right Reverend Bishop* gave him this as a reason for his forbidding him to Preach; where if he means that the *Bishop* gave him this as the only, or the principal reason, he speaks without truth, and against his Conscience; for the first and principal reason the *Bishop* gave him for his forbidding him to preach, was (as he well knows, and as the *Dean of Worcester* will witness against him) His *Preaching before without License*, having no Cure of his own to Preach to; whereunto when he replied, *I had promised to give him such a License as the Bishop of London had given him, viz. Quàm diu se bene gereret, & durante beneplacito*, I rejoyn'd, *That it was true indeed, I had once promised to give him such a License, but withal, that it was as true, that first I had never promised to give him a License, if he took it before I gave it him; and that for this presumption of his, I had now forbidden him to preach any more.* Secondly, *That I knew more of him since then I did at that time; for, first, I had been credibly*

dibly informed, that he had abused the Bishop of London's favour by preaching factiously, though not in the City, yet in the Diocess of London, and I named the place to him: Secondly, that since that promise of mine (which cannot be supposed to be other then Conditional) I my self had heard him at a Conference in the Savoy, maintaining such a Position as was destructive to Legislative Power both in God and Man (meaning the Assertion before spoken of, viz. That the enjoying of things lawful by lawful Authority, if they might by Accident be the cause of sin, was sinful) which Assertion of his with the horrible consequences of it I told him then at Worcester, I had formerly told him of at the Savoy openly, and before all the company that was at the Conference; whereunto all that he replied at my second telling him at Worcester, was, that he had used some distinctions to salve that Assertion from those consequences; but what those distinctions were he did not then mention, (as Dr. Warmstry can witness) though in this printed address of his to his friends of Kidderminster, he saith, he did tell the Bishop in what a limited and restrained sense he and his brethren understood that Assertion; which whether they did or no, will appear by and by, when we shall more nearly examine his printed Narrative as to that particular. In the mean time, though I said indeed that one that held and was likely to teach such Doctrines, was not to be suffered to Preach unto the People,

yet this was not then alledged by me as the cause or crime for which I had forbidden him to Preach, (for that, as I said before, was *His presuming to Preach without a License*) but only as a reason why I should have thought my self not obliged by the promise I had formerly made him, to give him a License, though he had not otherwise forfeited his Claim to that promise by Preaching without, or before he had it. Lastly, He might have remembered another reason I gave him why I could not have made good that promise, namely, *those principles of Treason and Rebellion publickly extant in his Books, which I had not taken notice of till after the making of that promise, and which till he should recant in as publick a manner, I thought my self obliged in Conscience not to suffer him to Preach in my Diocess*; whereunto his Answer was, *That whatsoever he had said or done in that kind, was pardoned by the Act of Indempnity: True, said I, so far as the King can pardon it, that is, in regard of its corporal punishment here in this world, but it is God that must pardon the guilt or obligation to punishment in the world to come, which he will not without Repentance, and it is the Church that must pardon the scandal, which she cannot do neither without an honourable amends made her by publick Confession and Recantation.* I could tell Mr. Baxter in his ear likewise, that in excuse of his Rebellious Principles formerly published, he said, *That now the Parliament had De-*

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clared where the Sovereign Power was, he should acknowledge it and submit to it, as if the King owed his Sovereignty to the declaration of a Parliament, which is as false as Rebellious, and as dangerous a principle as any of his former, however by what hath been said, it appears that Mr. Baxter meant to impose upon his credulous friends at *Kidderminster*, and upon his unwary Readers, by making them believe that was the only cause for which the *Bishop* forbade him to Preach, which was neither the only, nor the principal cause, why the *Bishop* did so, nor indeed, to speak properly, any cause of it at all; for the only proper cause for which the *Bishop* forbade him to Preach, was *His Preaching before without the Bishops License*; the other which he pretends, together with the third which he conceals, were properly and professedly the Causes why the *Bishop* would not take off that prohibition, or why he would not give him a License to Preach for the future, either at *Kidderminster*, or in any other place of his Diocess, until he should publicly retract that Position which he had openly asserted at the Conference, and should publicly renounce likewise those seditious and rebellious principles which are published in his Books. And this is the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth of what passed betwixt me and Mr. Baxter at *Worcester*, before I preached at *Kidderminster*, where whether I
defamed

defamed him, or he, by saying so, hath not grossly defamed me, will appear by that which follows; wherein that I might neither be deceived my self, nor deceive others, I have not trusted to my own memory only, as Mr. *Baxter* saith he doth to his, but I have consulted with Dr. *Cunning* and Dr. *Pearson*, two of the three that managed that Conference with Mr. *Baxter* and his *Assistants*, and have seen that Assertion in the same sense that I object it, and Mr. *Baxter* disclaims it, affirmed by Mr. *Baxter* himself under his own hand.

I found Mr. *Baxter* at the *Savoy* engaged in a Dispute, and I perceived that to keep himself off from that part of the argument which would press near to the merits of the Cause, he had often affirmed in his *Answers*, That the Command of a most lawful *A&* was sinful; if that *A&* commanded might prove to any one a sin per accidens. This Assertion I did then and there presently and openly lay to his charge; and when he denied it (as it was most frequent with him immediately to deny what he had before affirmed) the answers which he had delivered written with his own hand were produced, and upon the reading of them, the Justice of my charge was most apparent; whereupon I urged him farther, that this Assertion of his was not only false, but destructive of all Authority Humane and Divine, as not only denying all power to the Church of making Canons Ecclesiastical for the better ordering

ordering and governing of the Church, but also taking away all Legislative Power from the King and Parliament, and even from God himself: I delivered at the same time my reason for what I said, which was briefly this, because there can be no Act so good of it self, but may prove *per Accidens*, or by Accident, a sin; And therefore, if to Command an Act which may prove *per accidens* a sin, be a sin, then every Command must be a sin. And if to command be a sin, then certainly God can command nothing, because God cannot sin; and by the same reason, Kings, Parliaments and Churches ought not to command any thing, because they ought not to sin.

Thus far I then charged Mr. Baxter, and to this Charge he gave then no satisfaction. Neither can I yet conceive it possible to give any satisfaction, but by one of these two wayes, either by proving that the Assertion, with which I charged him, was never his, or by shewing that the consequence I urged, is not good; neither of which was he then able to do: and by what he hath now been pleased to publish, it is more then probable that he can never perform either of them.

For in his bold, but weak *Apology*, he doth not so much as pretend to shew any Invalidity in my Inference, and for the Assertion with which I charged him, he denies it so poorly, and goes about to prove another instead of it so ma-

nifestly, that he may without any injury be interpreted to yield it. He saith indeed now, *That he told us that his Assertion made not every Evil Accident to be such as made an Imposition unlawfull.* But whether he ever said so before this time or no, it was then clearly proved that he did assert, *That an Act for nothing else, but because it might be per accidens a sin, could not be commanded without sin.*

And now in his publick appeal, he hath taken a strange way to wipe off all this, for he makes a very brief Narration, and most notoriously imperfect, and then sayes, *You know my Crime*, as if that were all that had been, or could be objected against him. Besides, in the relating of this short Narrative, he relies wholly upon his own memory; not so much as endeavouring to satisfie himself, before he presumed to satisfie others. How his memory may be in other things I know not, in this if it hath been faithfull to him, he hath been very unfaithfull to others. He relates an Answer in what terms he pleaseth, and brings one Proposition, as made by his Opponents in what terms he thinks fit, and the Application of this answer to that Proposition he propoundeth as all his Crime; whereas his answer was far more largely given, and that to several Propositions in several Syllogisms, of which the Proposition which he relateth was but one, or rather none; so that he hath most shamefully abused his Disciples at *Kidderminster*, with a short and partial Narrative of his fact.

As for his *Concurring with* Learned Reverend Brethren, (which he would pretend to be part of his Crime) and his invidious insinuation, *That they are not forbidden to Preach for it, though he be*, the reason is clear. He had often delivered this Assertion before the company, his Brethren had not; the words of the Answer were written with his hand, not with his Brethrens. His Brethren had several times declared themselves not to be of his Opinion (as particularly when he affirmed (*That a man might live without any actual sin*) And therefore we were so just as not to charge them with this Assertion; especially considering they did shew themselves unwilling to enter upon this dispute, and seemed to like much better another way tending to an amicable and fair compliance, which was wholly frustrated by Mr. *Baxters* furious eagerness to engage in a Disputation.

All his discourse which followeth (after his imperfect Narrative) in justification of himself, is grounded first upon a misreporting of his own Assertion; Secondly, upon the dissembling of the several Propositions, to which his answer was so often applied; Thirdly, upon his pretending *That he says more now, than that which had offended formerly*; which is most palpably false, and in all probability (if he have any memory) against his own Conscience. And this will presently appear by the vanity and impertinency of all those

specious instances which he brings to mollifie his Assertion.

To Command a Navy to Sea (he sayes) is lawfull but if it were foreseen that they would fall into the Enemies hand, or were like to perish by any accident, it were a sin to send them. Is this more then he said before, or is it any defence of his Assertion at all ? It is not certainly, because the Opponents had put it expressly in the Proposition ; *That the Act in it self lawfull, was to be supposed to have nothing consequent, which the Commander of it ought to provide against ;* and yet being so stated, Mr. Baxter affirmed, *That if the Act might be per accidens sinful, the Commanding of it was sin.* Now certainly the falling of a Navy into the Enemies hand, or the perishing of it any other way, *if foreseen*, ought to be provided against by the Commander ; whereas Mr. Baxters answer did import, *That if any Prince did Command a Fleet to Sea, though he did not foresee the Fleet would fall into the Enemies hand, or perish any other way, yet if by Accident it miscarried that or any other way, which he could not foresee, or were not bound to provide against, the very Command at first was sin.*

The same reason nullifies his instances of the *poysen*, and the *knife*, because the sin in selling them supposeth the murder of the buyer to be foreseen, and consequently that the seller ought

to prevent it ; but if he will speak in correspondence to his former Answer, he must shew, that though the seller do not foresee that the buyer will use the poyson or the knife, to his own, or any other mans destruction, yet if by any Accident or mistake, either the buyer, or any other perish by the poyson or the knife, the Seller is guilty of his death.

His instance of *setting a City on fire, or putting Gunpowder under the Parliament House when the King and Parliament are there*, is of the same nature, and needs no addition of answer but onely this, that Mr. Baxter, in a sense too true, hath been very instrumental in setting the City on fire, and in adding powder to the Parliament.

The rest which follows betrays the same weakness, because the inconveniences are urged *upon a Duty to prohibit them*, and his answer did charge the Command with sin in respect of such Accidents, as it was no part of the Commanders Duty to provide against. It is therefore most certain, that no one of those instances singly, nor all of them joyntly have any force in any measure to justify that Assertion which Mr. Baxter did maintain, and whereof he is accused.

As for that last instance, *which was* (saith he) *the matter of the Dispute*, and which he urgeth in this manner, (Suppose it never so lawful of it self to Kneel in the reception of the Sacrament, if it be

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imposed

imposed by a penalty, that is incomparably beyond the proportion of the offence, that penalty is an Accident of the Command, and maketh it by Accident sinfull to the Commander) he is manifestly guilty of a double falsification: First, in pretending the matter in dispute, was the imposition of kneeling at the Communion; when this very matter was expressly rejected in the very beginning of the dispute, as belonging to the Canons, not the Common-Prayer-Book, the lawfulness of which Canons the Commissioners had no authority to debate, and Mr. Baxter knows, that his Argument was denied upon that ground. The second falsification is yet greater, in urging the penalty to make the Command sinfull, when his Answer did charge the Command with sin, without any relation to the punishment; and when the Proposition he replied to was so framed, that all unjust penalties were *in terminis* expressly excluded, even then I say he charged the Command of a lawful Act with sin, if it were otherwise by Accident sinfull; though by the way I must not grant that the penalty imposed by the Law for not kneeling at the Receiving of the Sacrament (namely the not admitting of such as will not kneel, at the receiving of it) is incomparably greater then the offence; for the greatness of the offence in such cases, and as it stands in relation to such or such a penalty appointed for it, is not to be measured by the Quality of the Act considered

in it self, but by the more or less mischievous consequences it is likely to produce, if men be not restrain'd from such an Act by such a penalty; for example, when a Souldier is hang'd for stealing of a Hen, or for taking away any thing of never so little a value, without paying for it, no wise man will blame the *General* for such a severity; because if he did not do so, every one would take what he pleas'd, which would discourage the Countrey from bringing in provisions, and consequently the whole army would be ruin'd. And as the Martial, so the Civil and Ecclesiastical Laws likewise in commanding or forbidding any thing under such or such a penalty, have an eye not so much to the merit of the Action it self, as to the more or less danger of the Publick in the consequences of it; whence it comes to pass, that a less evil may sometimes most justly be forbidden under a more severe penalty then a greater, because the former may be of much more dangerous consequence then the latter; so that he that will judge rightly, and impartially of the equity or iniquity of appointing or inflicting such or such a penalty, he must not so much consider the quality of the Transgression singly in it self, nor whether it be from weakness, or wilfulness in the party transgressing (as he is this or that individual person) but rather he must consider what the *Consequence* would be of the breach of such a command if it were

were not prevented by such a penalty, alwayes sup-
 posing the Command it self to be lawful, and that
 the transgressor of it is to be considered as he
 stands in relation to that whole Body, whether Ci-
 vil, or Ecclesiastical, whereof he is a part; and
 that the whole is not to be endangered out of ten-
 derness and indulgence to some particulars, as evi-
 dently it would be, if every man were left at li-
 berty to do what seem'd best in his own eyes,
 even in the Ceremonials and Circumstantial of
 Gods Worship; for considering the pride and self-
 love that is in humane nature, which makes men so
 overvalue their own practises and their own opi-
 nions, that they are alwayes apt to undervalue
 those that will not conform to them, as it alwayes
 hath been, so it alwayes will be; he that wor-
 shippeth God one way, will either judge or con-
 demn him that worshippeth God another way; he
 that *Kneeleth* at the Sacrament, will be thought to
 be Idolatrous or Superstitious by him that *Kneel-
 eth not*, and him that kneeleth not will be thought
 wilful, or weak, by him that kneeleth. And thus
 from diversity grows dislike, from dislike enmity,
 from enmity opposition, and from opposition,
 first Separation and Schism in the *Church*, and then
 Faction, Sedition and Rebellion in the State;
 which is a progress very natural, and I would we
 had not found it to be so by our own experience;
 for as the safety of a State depends upon the
 safety

safety of the Church, so the safety of the Church depends upon Unity, and Unity it self depends upon Uniformity, and Uniformity there cannot be, as long as there is diversity or divers waies of worship in the same Church, which will be alwaies, unless it be lawful for publick Authority to oblige all particulars to one way of publick worship, and that under such penalties, as the Law-givers shall think necessary to prevent the disturbing of the publick Peace and safety; the preservation whereof being the main end of all Laws, and of all penalties appointed by Law, those practises that are either intentionally or consequentially destructive to this End, may be, and no doubt ought to be restrain'd by severe penalties. It is not therefore the *not kneeling* at the Sacrament, but the *breaking* of the *Orders* of the Church, and the endangering of the Peace and Safety of the whole, which our Laws punish by not admitting such unto the Sacrament, as will not, or perhaps dare not kneel at it; for as they will not endanger the Peace of their Consciences for the Churches sake; so it becomes the Law-givers not to endanger the Churches and the States Peace for their sakes: And surely when there is a necessity of the yielding of the one or of the other, it is much more reasonable that a part should yield unto the whole, then the whole unto a part, especially when the whole cannot

yield without endangering it self, and with it self even those themselves also, that, will they nill they, must be involved in the ruine of it; as the *Presbyterians* have found by their own experience also, who by their groundless and needless separation from us, have given example and ground enough for others to separate from them, till by dividing and subdividing from one another, there was nothing of Uniformity, or unity, or order, or decency left in that *Church*, which was formerly (and I hope by the Prudence and Piety of Publick Authority will be now again) the Glory and Pattern of all other Protestant and *Reformed* Churches in the world; of which, by the way, there is not one which doth not use as great severity for the preserving of Unity by Uniformity as we do, even in this particular; for do not the Protestant Churches in *France* enjoyn *Standing*, the Churches of *Holland*, *Scotland*, and the Churches of *Germany* that follow *Calvin* enjoyn *Sitting*, and the Churches that follow *Luther* there and elsewhere enjoyn *Kneeling* as we do, and all of them upon the same penalty of not receiving it otherwise? And is it not as lawful for our Church, as for all other Protestant, and all other Christian Churches, to require of her Children the like conformity to her Laws under the like penalty for the same end, and to prevent the same danger? *Yes* (replied Mr. *Baxter* when this question

stion was asked him) *just as lawful*, that is, *not law-ful at all*; such an injunction upon such a penalty being sinful, wheresoever and by whomsoever it is enjoined. O happy England, that hath such an *Aristarchus* as is worthy to censure all the Churches of the world, whose Catholick practise (if it cross Mr. *Baxters* opinion) must presently without more ado be Condemn'd as sinful, and all the world must be Lyars rather than Mr. *Baxter* must not be justified in his sayings. You have before seen the ingenuity and veracity, you now see the humility, and the modesty of the Man; and indeed in proportion, of the whole party, for *crimine ab uno*, — *Disce omnes*. But doth Mr. *Baxter* and the rest of his perswasion think indeed, that it is so great and grievous a punishment to be kept from the Sacrament when men will not receive it in that way and upon those terms that the Church offers? if they do, why then do they deny it to so many that hunger and thirst after it, whensoever either by reason of Age, or Lameness, or sickness, or some other bodily infirmity they cannot come to Church for it? especially when the Catholick Church in the 12th Canon of the first General Council commands it be given even to those that are Excommunicate, if they desire it when they are *in Extremis*, or going out of the world. Secondly, why have they suffered so many whole Parishes in England under their charge to have been

without a Communion so many years together, as I am credibly informed they have? Thirdly, why do they reject those from the Sacrament, that will not come before hand to them to be examined by them, there being neither precept nor practise in the Gospel, nor Canon in the Church, either to warrant them to require it, or to oblige the People to submit to it upon any such penalty? I am sure St. *Paul* when he chides those of the Church of *Corinth* for coming ignorantly to the Sacrament, and for behaving themselves profanely at the Sacrament, that which he prescribes for avoiding the same or the like faults for the future, is not that every man should come, and be examined by the Minister, but that *every man should examine himself before he eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup*; And yet I will not deny but that every man before he Communicates ought to be well Catechised and instructed by the Minister, and thereby enabled to examine himself the better; nor will I deny neither but that every man may and ought in Case of scruple of mind or trouble of conscience to advise with, and to be advised by him that hath the cure of his Soul; but that every man as often as he intends to receive the Sacrament should be obliged under the penalty of being rejected from it, to come and to be examined by the Minister, this is that which I utterly deny, and which I take to be the same thing in
other

other words with that of *Auricular Confession*; so that they who exact the one, have no reason to condemn the other, unless it be because they would ingross it wholly unto themselves: Howsoever, if refusing the Sacrament to those that will not kneel, when the Church enjoyns it, be a penalty so far transcending the offence, how much more must the same penalty transcend the offence, when there is indeed no offence at all? for where there is no *νόμος*, there can be no *ἀνομία*, where there is no Law there can be no transgression, and consequently there being no Law of God nor Man that requires all Communicants to be pre-examined by the Minister, those that are refused the Sacrament because they will not be pre-examined, are punished with the same punishment which they complain of, for no offence at all. And therefore *si maxime digna esset* (may our Church say) *ista contumelia, indigni vos, qui faceretis tamen*; for, *Who art thou O Man that judgest another?* nay, that judgest thy Mother, when thou doest the same, or worse, thing, then those are for which thou condemnest her? And how can any man of reason be so scrupulous, as to quit his Calling, rather then deny the Sacrament to those that will not receive it kneeling, when the Church commands it should neither be taken nor given otherwise, and yet make no scruple at all of denying it to whole Parishes? of denying it

to those that cannot come to Church for it, though desirous of it, and qualified for it, and such as have most need of it to strengthen their faith in their last Agony? and lastly, of denying it to such as refuse to be pre-examined by them, and all this without any command or warrant from Gods Word, and contrary to the Command and Custome of Gods Church? whereby it plainly appears, that either they do not think the receiving of the Sacrament of so great importance, as indeed it is, nor the denying of it so great an injury or punishment as they pretend it to be; or else that they would have every Minister to be a Monarch or Sovereign Law-giver in his own Parish, and this indeed is that they would fain be at, now they have lost their hopes of Governing the whole Kingdome; for you see by what Mr. Baxter adds, that if they may not be suffered to give or deny the Sacrament to whom they please, and in effect to do what they list in their own Parishes, they threaten to quit their Stations, which he calls *being Ejected because they dare not put away all that will not kneel at the Sacrament*: And this menace they often repeat upon all occasions, as if they were the only men that could carry on the work of the Lord; or as if the Church must needs sink and perish, if it wanted such Pillars as they are to uphold it. But (thanks be to God for it) the Church of England

land is not yet (notwithstanding all their endeavours to that purpose) reduced to so very ill a condition, that she cannot subsist without them; whereas the truth is, she cannot subsist with them, as long as they continue to be what they have been, the sowers and fomenters of Schism in the Church, and sedition in the State; and as long as they continue to do as they have done in humouring, and hardning, and confirming the people in their obstinate standing out against the lawful commands of their Superiours; which they would never have done at all, if these men had not at first infused into them these scruples. And therefore as God asked *Adam and Eve*, *How came you to know that you are naked?* so if I should ask those poor souls whom those sly and subtle Serpents have beguiled and seduced, *How came you to know that you shall sin against God if you obey the Orders of the Church in general? or particularly how came you to know, That it is against the Canons of the General Conneels, and many hundred years practise of the Church to Kneel in the Act of receivng?* Did you or can you your selves read those General Councils? Did you or can you examine so many hundred years practise of the Church as Mr. Baxter speaks of? What answer can they make to these demands, but that which *Eve* made unto God? *The Serpent beguiled me, and I did eat;* Mr. Baxter, or some such

such Godly and Learned men as Mr. *Baxter* is, did tell us so, and we believed them: But what if Mr. *Baxter* do not believe that himself which he would have you believe? For first he would have you believe that there is great reverence and respect to be given (as indeed there is) to the Canons of *General Councils*, and to the *Catholic practise* of the Primitive Church; but doth he himself believe this? if he do, why did he so furiously oppose that which all General Councils approve of and confirm? I mean the Government of the Church by *Bishops* in the sense wherein it is asserted and practised in our Church? Or why did he perswade Subjects to take Arms against their *Sovereign*? which he knows to be contrary to the Doctrine and practise of the Primitive Christians for many hundred years more then he speaks of. Secondly, Mr. *Baxter* would have you believe, that Kneeling at the receiving of the Sacrament is forbidden by *General Councils*, and contrary to the custome and *practise* of the Ancient Church, which I am affraid he doth not believe himself; I am sure there is no convincing reason to make him believe it; for it is not the Ancient Churches injunction to stand when they prayed betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, that will prove they were forbidden to Kneel when they received; especially if the *Presbyterian* opinion be true, *that we are not to be in the Act of Praying,*
when

when we are in the Act of receiving; But if we may pray (as no doubt we may and ought to pray) in the Act of Receiving, then supposing the Ancient Injunction of the Church to stand at Prayer upon Sundaies betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide* to be still in force, yet all the rest of the year we are to kneel when we Pray, and consequently when we Receive, though there were no particular command of our own Church for it. Besides Mr. *Baxter* knows that the aforesaid Injunction of the Church was but Temporary, till the people were sufficiently confirmed in the Doctrine and Belief of the Resurrection; for if it had been of perpetual obligation, and were still in force, Mr. *Baxter* must needs condemn the whole present Church of God for kneeling when they pray betwixt *Easter* and *Whitsontide*, and particularly he must most of all condemn himself and the *Presbyterians* of *England*, for not standing when they receive, if at least that Injunction be to be understood of Receiving, as well as Praying; which if it be not, then is it urged by Mr. *Baxter* against us to no purpose, as indeed it is; And therefore no doubt Mr. *Baxter* doth not believe himself what he would have others believe, when he presseth that occasional temporary injunction of the Church for *standing* against *kneeling*; which if it be of force, must needs condemn his own practise of *sitting*, as well as ours of *kneeling*. The like may be said of Christs exam-

ple alleadged by him also; for would he, or would he not have his Disciples believe that they are obliged to do as Christ did? if he would not have them believe so, why doth he press them with Christ example? if he would have them believe so, I demand again whether he doth believe it himself or no? if he do not, it is plain he is a seducer of the People; but if he do believe it, he must needs condemn the *French Presbyterians* for *standing*, as well as the *English Protestants* for *kneeling*; nay he must needs condemn himself and all other Christians in the world for not doing as Christ did in point of time, I mean, for not giving and receiving the Sacrament in the Evening as Christ did, as well as he condemns us for not doing as Christ did in point of gesture; unless he can prove (which I think he cannot) that we are of necessity to follow Christs example in one circumstance of the same action, and not in another, and in that circumstance which is lesse, but not in that which is more material; for certainly that circumstance which denominates the action (as the circumstance of time doth the Lords Supper) is most material; and yet that circumstance by the consent of all Christendome is altered from the Evening to the Morning, and so was the gesture or posture of receiving also, and that upon most just and weighty reasons, till those that delight in change would needs have it otherwise, and that perhaps for no other reason but because they

found it settled in the Church: This is not to follow Christs example, who in things indifferent in their own nature conformed his practise to that of the Church in which he lived, though varying in some circumstances from the primitive Institution; and particularly in this very action, from which they press us with Christs example. For it is certain that Christ and his Disciples sate at the Passover, (though it be uncertain whether he or they sate at the giving and receiving the Sacrament or no, for it was μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνῆσαι, *after he had supped*, saith the Text, Luk 22. 20.) Howsoever it is certain, I say, that Christ and his Disciples sat when they eat the Passover, and this no doubt was according to the custome of the Jewish Church at that time; but it is as certain that this was not the manner according to the first institution of it, which was to eat it *standing*, as you may read Exod 12. 11. So that to urge Christs example against us, is to urge Christs example against himself; for as we conform ourselves to the Churches order and custome of our times in receiving the Communion otherwise in point of gesture, then perhaps it was received at the first institution; so Christ and his Apostles conforming themselves to the order and practise of the Church of their times, did celebrate the Passover otherwise then according to the first Institution it was to be celebrated in point of gesture also; thereby perhaps intending to teach us, that

as long as the Essentials of Doctrine and worship (which are unalterable) are preserved, we are not to separate from the Church, or quarrel with our Superiours, if those things that are in their own nature alterable, be not alwayes and in all places just the same that they were at first, because there may be very just cause for the alteration of them; and whether there be such a cause or no in this and the like particulars, it is the Church that is to be the Judge. So that there is nothing that can be collected either from the Canons of the Councils, or from the practise of the Primitive Church, no nor from Christs own example, that can prove kneeling at the Sacrament to be a sin; neither doth Mr. Baxter himself believe it to be sinful, for if he did, he would not say (as he does, Pag. 411. of his five Disputations) *that he himself would kneel rather then disturb the peace of the Church, or be deprived of its Communion.* In which words he confesseth, First, that Kneeling at the Sacrament is not sinful or unlawful, Secondly, that not to Kneel when it is imposed, is to disturb the Peace of the Church, and Thirdly, that the imposing of it upon penalty of being deprived of the Communion, is an effectual means to make those that otherwise would not kneel, to conform to it; and consequently, that the imposing of it upon such a penalty is prudent and rational, and whatsoever is prudent and rational cannot be unlawful; so that not onely the Act of
Kneeling

Kneeling it self, but the imposition of it by lawful Authority must needs be lawful. Neither indeed would the People scruple at the imposition, if they had not been taught that the thing it self were unlawful, or if Mr *Baxter* would yet teach them to believe what he himself believes, namely, that it is lawful; which with what conscience he can refuse to do I know not; for sure he is obliged to teach them obedience not to Divine Authority only, but to humane authority also in all lawful things; and not to let them go on in such an erroneous opinion, *as will disturb the Peace, and deprive them of the Communion of the Church,* and consequently make them sin against God and man and their own Souls. Of which sin of theirs he must needs be a partaker in a great measure, if he do not perswade them from it; seeing (as he himself saith) *Qui non vetat peccare cum potest, jubet.* And what Power he hath to lead or mislead those kind of men, *their venturing to kill and be killed in a most unrighteous quarrel* (upon his perswasion) hath more then enough demonstrated during the time of the late troubles; unlesse he will say that he hath conjured up a Spirit that he cannot lay. Howsoever by how much the more fault he hath been in misleading them heretofore, by so much the more zealous he should be to reduce them into the right way hereafter; which if he and the rest of his Brethren can do (as I am confident they can if they will) they will

make some amends for the mischief they have done and then there will be no fear or danger of *Ministers being Ejected for their tenderness towards the People, nor of the Ejecting of any of the People from the Communion of the Church for not conforming themselves to the Orders and Commands of it*, and consequently, there will be no Schisms or Divisions amongst us, when we shall all worship the same God the same way. But if they will not do this (which by all obligations humane and Divine they are bound to do) for my part I know no better way for undeceiving and reducing of the People, then by removing such Ministers, and then we shall see when the blowing of those boisterous winds ceaseth, whether the waves will not be still or no: In the mean time, I hope the removing of *erroneous and seditious*, will not necessitate the introducing of *ignorant and scandalous Ministers*, though Mr. Baxter ought to remember, that as there is no sin more heinous then Rebellion, so no teacher ought to be more scandalous (I am sure there is none more dangerous) then a teacher of Rebellion.

And now (to use Mr. Baxters own words) I think there is *no man to be found on earth, that hath the ordinary reason of a Man, but will confesse, That it is indeed destructive of all Government and Legislative power, to Assert (as Mr. Baxter did Assert) the command of a thing in it self lawful by lawful Authority, under no unjust punishment, with no evil circumstance,*

which

which the Commander can foresee or ought to provide against (for all these pre-cautions were expesly put in the proposition which Mr. Baxter denied) is a sinful Command, for no other reason, but because the Act Commanded may be by Accident a sin.

Let Mr. Baxter then know, and (if he have ingenuity enough) confess, that the words I spoke (as to this particular) were *words of truth*, and *words of charity* also, as being intended and spoken to no other end, but to undeceive that People, who by having his person too much in admiration (as if he could neither deceive nor be deceived) had been so long and so dangerously mislead by him; so that it was not I that defamed him then, but it is he that hath defamed me now. Neither could I expect less from the boldness of this man and that Party, who have had the confidence publickly to own the obligation of the Covenant, even since it hath been condemned to be burnt by the Parliament. And truly I see no reason why all those Books and Sermons which have been Preach'd and Printed in defence of the Covenant, or to maintain the same or worse principles of Sedition then are in the Covenant, should not be burnt also. Nay I dare be bold to say, that if the Authors of such Books and Sermons were not still of the same opinions (and if they be, God deliver us from such Preachers) if they were not still, I say, of the same opinions, but did truly repent of them, and were heartily sorry
for

for the horrible mischief they have done by them, they would with those converted Exorcists, *Act. 19. 19.* bring all those Conjuring Books of theirs together, and to save the Hang-man a labour, would publickly burn them all with their own hands, that so, though by the burning of their works they may perhaps suffer some loss in point of reputation with some of their Disciples, yet they themselves may be saved, but so as by fire, *1 Cor. 3. 15.* At least they ought to be enjoined to write Books of Retraction, as *St. Augustine* did, having much more reason to do so then *St. Augustine* had.

And this Sir is all I have to say upon this occasion, and more a great deal then I thought to have said, or then perhaps was needful to be said to one that knows *Mr. Baxter* and me as well as you do; which if it satisfie you, as I hope it will, you may do what you please with it, in order to the satisfying of others; for this is the first and last trouble I mean to put my self to of this kinde, whatsoever provocation I may have from him hereafter.

Your very affectionate Friend

and Servant,

G. Worcester.

The Attestation of Dr. Gunning and
Dr. Pearson.

Concerning a Command of Lawful Superiours, what was sufficient to its being a lawful Command.

THis Proposition being brought by us, viz.
That Command which commands an Act in it self lawful, and no other act or circumstance unlawful, is not sinful.

Mr. Baxter denied it for two reasons which he gave in with his own hand in writing thus: One is, Because that may be a sin *per accidens*, which is not so in it self, and may be unlawfully commanded though that accident be not in the command. *Another is*, That it may be commanded under an unjust penalty.

Again this Proposition being brought by us,
That Command which commandeth an Act in it self lawful, and no other Act whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence per accidens any sin is consequent which the Commander ought to provide against, is not sinful.

Mr. Baxter denied it for this reason given in with his own hand in writing thus : Because the first A& commanded may be *per accidens* unlawful, and be commanded by an unjust penalty, though no other A& or circumstance commanded be such,

Again this Proposition being brought by us,
That Command which commandeth an A& in it self lawful, and no other A& whereby any unjust penalty is enjoined, nor any circumstance whence directly or per accidens any sin is consequent, which the Commander ought to provide against, hath in it all things requisite to the lawfulness of a Command, and particularly cannot be guilty of commanding an A& *per accidens* unlawful, nor of commanding an A& under an unjust penalty.

Mr. Baxter denied it upon the same Reasons.

Peter Gunning.

John Pearson.

The Postscript.

Least Mr. Baxter should say I have defamed him once more, by charging him with devising and publishing Maxims of Treason, Sedition and Rebellion, (which till he should as publicly recant, I thought it unfit to restore him to the exercise of any Act of the Ministry in my Diocese) I think my self obliged to set down some few of his Political Theses or Aphorisms in his own words, as they are extant (though it be strange such a Book should still be extant) in his [Holy Common-wealth] most falsely and profanely so called.

Mr. Baxter's Theses of Government and Governours in General.

I. **G**overnours are some limited, some *de facto* unlimited: The unlimited are Tyrants and have no right to that unlimited Government, P. 106. *Thes.* 101.

II. The 3. qualifications of necessity to the being of Sovereign Power are, 1. So much understanding, 2. So much will or goodness in himself, 3. So much strength or executive power by his interest in the People or others, as are necessary to the said ends of Government, P. 130. *Thes.* 133.

III. From whence he deduceth 3. Corollaries, (*viz.*)

1. When Providence depriveth a man of his understanding and intellectual Capacity, and that stably or to his ordinary temper, it maketh him *materia in indispositam* and incapable of Government, though not of the name. *Thes.* 135.

2. If God permit Princes to turn ſo wicked as to be incapable of governing ſo as is conſiſtent with the ends of Government, he permits them to depoſe themſelves, *Theſ.* 136.

3. If Providence ſtatedly diſable him that was the Sovereign from the executing of the Law, proteſting the juſt, and other ends of Government, it makes him an incapable ſubject of the power, and ſo depoſeth him. *Theſ.* 137.

IV. *whereunto he ſubjoyns*, that though it is poſſible and likely that the guilt is or may be theirs, who have diſabled their Ruler by deſerting him, yet he is diſmiſſed and diſobliged from the charge of Government; and particular innocent members are diſobliged from being Governed by him.

V. If the perſon (*viz.* the Sovereign) be juſtly diſpoſſeſt, as by a lawful War, in which he loſeth his right, eſpecially if he violate the Conſtitution and enter into a Military ſtate againſt the People themſelves, and by them be conquered, they are not obliged to reſtore him, unleſs there be ſome ſpecial obligation upon them beſides their Allegiance. *Theſ.* 145.

VI. If the perſon diſpoſſeſt'd, though it were unjuſtly, do afterwards become incapable of Government, it is not the Duty of his Subjects to ſeek his reſtitution. *Theſ.* 146. No nor although (*ſaith he*) the incapacity be but accidental, as if he cannot be reſtored but by the Armes of the Enemies of God or of the Commonwealth.

VII. If an Army (of Neighbours, Inhabitants, or whoever) do (though injuriouſly) expel the Sovereign, and reſolve to ruine the Commonwealth, rather then he ſhall be reſtored; and if the Commonwealth may proſper without his reſtauration, it is the Duty of ſuch an injured Prince for the Common good to reſign his Government, and if he will not, the people ought to judge him as made incapable by Providence, and

nor.

not to seek his restitution to the apparent ruine of the Commonwealth, *Thes.* 147.

where by the way we are to note, he makes the people judge of this and all other incapacities of the Prince, and consequently when or for what he is to be Depos'd, or not Restored by them.

VIII. If therefore the rightful Governour be so long dispossess'd, that the Commonwealth can be no longer without, but to the apparent hazard of its ruine, we (*that is, we the people, or we the Rebels that dispossess'd him*) are to judge that Providence hath dispossess'd the former, and presently to consent to another. *Thes.* 149.

IX. When the People are without a Governour, it may be the duty of such as have most strength, *ex charitate*, to protect the rest from injury. *Thes.* 150. *and consequently they are to submit themselves to the Parliament, or to that Army which depos'd or dispossess'd or murdered the rightful Governour.*

X. Providence by Conquest or other means doth use so to qualifie some persons above others for the Government when the place is void, that no other persons shall be capable competitors, and the persons (*doth not he mean the Cromwells?*) shall be as good as named by Providence, whom the people are bound by God to choose, or consent to, so that they are usually brought under a divine obligation to submit to such or such, and take them for their Governours, before those persons have an actual right to Govern. *Thes.* 151.

XI. Any thing that is a sufficient sign of the will of God; that this is the person, by whom we must be Governed is enough (as joyned to Gods Laws) to oblige us to consent and obey him as our Governour. *Thes.* 153.

XII. When God doth not notably declare any person or persons qualified above others, there the people must judge as well as they are able according to Gods general rules, *Thes.* 157.

XIII. *And yet* All the people have not this right of choosing their Governours, but commonly a part of every Nation must be compelled to consent, &c.

XIV. Those that are known enemies of the Common Good in the chiefeſt parts of it, are unmeet to Govern or chooſe Governours, but ſuch are multitudes of ungodly vicious men. *Pag.* 174. *So that if thoſe that are ſtrongeſt (though feweſt) call themſelves the Godly Party, all others beſides themſelves are to be excluded from Governing or chooſing of Governours. And amongſt the ungodly that are to be thus excluded, he reckons all thoſe that will not hearken to their Paſtors (he means the Presbyterian Claffis) or that are deſpiſers of the Lords-Day, that is, all ſuch as are not Sabatarians, or will not keep the Lords-Day after the Jewiſh manner, which they preſcribe, and which is condemned for Judaïſm by all even of the Presbyterian perſwaſion in the world, but thoſe of England and Scotland only.*

XV. If a People that by Oath and Duty are obliged to a Sovereign, ſhall ſinfully diſpoſſeſs him, and contrary to their Covenants, chooſe and Covenant with another, they may be obliged by their latter Covenant notwithstanding their former; and particular ſubjects that conſented not in the breaking of their former Covenants, may yet be obliged by occaſion of their latter choice to the perſon whom they chooſe. *Thes.* 181.

XVI. If a Nation injuriouſly deprive themſelves of a worthy Prince, the hurt will be their own, and they puniſh themſelves;

selves; but if it be necessarily to their welfare, it is no injury to him. But a King that by war will seek reparations from the body of the People, doth put himself into an hostile State, and tells them actually that he looks to his own good more then theirs, and bids them take him for their Enemy, and to defend themselves if they can. *Pag. 424.*

XVII. Though a Nation wrong their King, and so *quoad Meritum cause*, they are on the worser side, yet may he not lawfully war against the publick good on that account, nor any help him in such a war, because *propter finem* he hath the worser cause. *Thef. 352.*

And yet as he tells us (*pag. 476.*) we were to believe the Parliaments Declarations and professions which they made, that the war which they raised was not against the King either in respect of his Authority, or of his Person; but only against Delinquent Subjects, and yet they actually fought against the King in person, and we are to believe (*saieth Mr. Baxter pag. 422.*) that men would kill them whom they fight against.

Mr. Baxter's Doctrine concerning the Government of *England* in particular.

HE denies the government of England to be *Monarchical* in these words.

I. The real Sovereignty here amongst us was in King, Lords; and Commons. *Pag. 72.*

II. As to them that argue from the Oath of Supremacy and the title given the King, I refer them (*saieth Mr. Baxter*) to Mr. *Lawson's* answer to *Hobb's* Politicks, where he

He might have refer'd them to himself, *pag. 460.* where he gives the same answer to the same objection.

sheweth

sheweth that the Title is often given to the single Person for the honour of the Commonwealth and his encouragement, because he hath an eminent interest: but will not prove the whole Sovereignty to be in him: and the Oath excludeth all others from without, not those whose interest is implied as conjunct with his— The eminent dignity and interest of the King above others allowed the name of a Monarchy or Kingdom to the Commonwealth, though indeed the Sovereignty was mix'd in the hands of the Lords and Commons. *Pag. 88.*

III. *He calls it a false supposition,* 1. That the Sovereign power was only in the King, and so that it was an absolute Monarchy. 2. That the Parliament had but only the proposing of Lawes, and that they were Enacted only by the Kings Authority upon their request. 3. That the power of Armes and of War and Peace was in the King alone. And therefore (*saieth he*) those that argue from these false suppositions, conclude that the Parliament being Subjects, may not take up Arms without him, and that it is Rebellion to resist him; and most of this they gather from the Oath of Supremacy, and from the Parliaments calling of themselves his Subjects, but their grounds (*saieth he*) are sandy, and their superstructure false. *Pag. 459, & 460.*

And therefore Mr. Baxter tells us, that though the Parliament are Subjects in one capacity, yet have they their part in the Sovereignty also in their higher capacity, *Ibid.* And upon this false and trayterous supposition he endeavours to justify the late Rebellion, and his own more then ordinary adizeness in it. For,

IV. Where the Sovereignty (*saieth he*) is distributed into several hands (as the Kings and Parliaments) and the King invades the others part, they may lawfully defend their own by war, and the Subject lawfully assist them, yea though the power of the Militia be expressly given to the King, unless it be also exprest that it shall not be in the other. *Thes. 363.*

The conclusion (*saieth he*) needs no proof, because Sovereignty,

raignty, as such, hath the power of Arms and of the Laws themselves. The Law that saith the King shall have the *Militia* supposeth it to be against Enemies and not against the Common-wealth, nor them that have part of the Sovereignty with him. To resist him here is not to resist power, but usurpation and private will; in such a case the Parliament is no more to be resisted then he. *Ibid.*

V. If the King raile Warre against such a Parliament upon their Declaration of the dangers of the Common-wealth, the people are to take it as railed against the Common-wealth. *Thef.* 358.

And in that case (saith he) the King may not only be resisted, but ceaseth to be a King, and entreth into a state of Warre with the people. *Thef.* 368.

VI. Again, if a Prince that hath not the whole Sovereignty be conquered by a Senate that hath the other part, and that in a just defensive Warre, that Senate cannot assume the whole Sovereignty, but supposeth that government in *specie* to remain, and therefore another King must be chosen, if the former be incapable. (*Thef.* 374.) as he tells us, he is, by ceasing to be King, in the immediately precedent *Thef.*

VII. And yet in the Preface to this Book he tells us that the King withdrawing (so he calls the murdering of one King and the casting off of another) the Lords and Commons ruled alone; was not this to change the species of the Government? which in the immediate words before he had affirmed to be in King, Lords and Commons; which constitution (saith he) we were sworn, and sworn, and sworn again to be faithful to and to defend. And yet speaking of that Parliament which contrary to their Oaths changed this Government by ruling alone, and taking upon them the Supremacy, he tells us that they were the best Governours in all the world, and such as it is forbidden to Subjects to depole upon pain of damnation.

vid. Preface to the Holy Common-wealth. p. g. 6. 1
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What then was he that deposed them? one would think Mr. Baxter should have called him a Traitor, but he calls him in the same Preface, the Lord Protector, adding, That he did prudently, piously, faithfully, and to his immortal honour exercise the Government, which he left to his Son, to whom (as Mr. Baxter saith pag. 481.) he is bound to submit as set over us by God, and to obey for conscience sake, and to behave himself as a Loyal Subject towards him, because (as he saith in the same place) a full and free Parliament had owned him: thereby implying, That a maimed and manacled House of Commons, without King and Lords, and notwithstanding the violent expulsion of the secluded Members were a full and free Parliament; and consequently that if such a Parliament should have taken Arms against the King he must have sided with them. Yea, though they had been never so much in fault, and though they had been the beginners of the warre, for he tells us in plain and express terms,

VIII. That if he had known the Parliament had been the beginners of the Warre and in most fault, yet the ruine of the Trustees and Representatives, and so of all the security of the Nation being a punishment greater then any faults of theirs against the King could deserve from him, their faults could not disoblige him (meaning himself) from defending the Commonwealth. Pag. 480.

And that he might do this lawfully, and with a good Conscience, he seems to be so confident, that in his Preface, he makes as it were a challenge, saying, that if any man can prove that the King was the highest power in the time of those Divisions, and that he had power to make that war which he made, he will offer his head to Justice as a Rebel.

As if in those times of Division the King had lost or forfeited his Sovereignty, and the Parliament had not only a part, but the whole Sovereignty in themselves.

IX. Finally Mr. Baxter tells us, Pag. 486. That having often searched into his heart, whether he did lawfully engage into
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the War or not, and whether he did lawfully encourage so many thousands to it; he tells us, I say, that the issue of all his search was but this, — That he cannot yet see that he was mistaken in the main cause, nor dares he repent of it, nor forbear doing the same, if it were to do again in the same state of things. *He tells us indeed in the same place, that if he could be convinced he had sinned in this matter, he would as gladly make a publick recantation, as he would eat or drink: which seeing he hath not yet done, it is evident he is still of the same minde, and consequently would upon the same occasion do the same things, viz. fight, and encourage as many thousands as he could to fight against the King for any thing that calls it self, or which he is pleased to call a full and Free Parliament: as likewise that he would own and submit to any Usurper of the Sovereignty as set up by God, although he came to it by the murder of his Master, and by trampling upon the Parliament. Lastly, That he would hinder as much as possibly he could the restoring of the rightful Heir unto the Crown. And now whether a man of this Judgement, and of these affections, ought to be permitted to Preach or no, Let any, but himself, judge.*

F I N I S.